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## "His Master's Voice"? The Supposed Influence of the Book of Isaiah in the Book of Habakkuk

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“HIS MASTER’S VOICE”?  
THE SUPPOSED INFLUENCE OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAH  
IN THE BOOK OF HABAKKUK

This contribution, which is dedicated warmly to my highly esteemed teacher, Wim Beuken, deals with the relationship of another teacher, the prophet Isaiah, and someone who, according to some exegetes, was a pupil of his. I do not refer to the anonymous prophet(s) of chapters 40–66 of the Book of Isaiah, but to the prophet Habakkuk. However, the master had turned sixty-five a long time before; he was probably already dead<sup>1</sup>, when the pupil was born<sup>2</sup>, and a relationship could begin. Therefore, I restrict myself to the relationship of the *book* of Isaiah and the *book* of Habakkuk. In this contribution I will consider some of the similarities between both collections with regard to theme and vocabulary, which have been put forward in other studies, especially in a study of Walter Dietrich<sup>3</sup>. The question is whether these similarities point to the conclusion that Habakkuk is dependent on Isaiah or not. I will examine

1. Isaiah lived in the 8th century B.C. According to most exegetes the prophecies of Isa 1–39 are no unity, but rather reflect a complex literary entity. Some prophecies are traced back to the prophet himself, others to a redaction in the 7th century B.C. or even to a post-exilic redaction. Cf. B. DUHM, *Das Buch Jesaja* (HKAT, III/1), Göttingen, <sup>4</sup>1922; O. KAISER, *Das Buch des Propheten Jesaja* I (ATD, 17), Göttingen, <sup>5</sup>1981 and II (ATD, 18), Göttingen, 1973; H. BARTH, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit. Israel und Assur als Thema einer produktiven Neuinterpretation der Jesajaüberlieferung* (WMANT, 48), Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977; O. EISSFELDT, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Tübingen, <sup>3</sup>1964, pp. 407-444; T.C. VRIEZEN – A.S. VAN DER WOUDE, *Literatuur van Oud-Israël*, Katwijk aan Zee, <sup>8</sup>1984, pp. 221-226; B. CHILDS, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, London, 1979, pp. 310-338.

2. Habakkuk acted at the end of the 7th century B.C. See: P. HUMBERT, *Problèmes du livre d'Habacuc*, Neuchâtel, 1944; P. JÖCKEN, *Das Buch Habakuk. Darstellung der Geschichte seiner kritischen Erforschung mit einer eigenen Beurteilung* (BBB, 48), Köln - Bonn, 1977; cf. EISSFELDT, *Einleitung* (n. 1), pp. 526-557; VRIEZEN – VAN DER WOUDE, *Literatuur* (n. 1), pp. 253-255; CHILDS, *Introduction* (n. 1), pp. 447-456. According to some, the prophecies of Habakkuk underwent a thorough reworking at the end of the Babylonian exile: see J. JEREMIAS, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels* (WMANT, 35), Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970, pp. 55-110; E. OTTO, *Die Stellung der Wehe-Worte in der Verkündigung des Propheten Habakuk*, in ZAW 89 (1977) 73-107.

3. W. DIETRICH, *Habakuk – ein Jesajaschüler*, in H.M. NIEMANN – M. AUGUSTIN – W.H. SCHMIDT (eds.), *Nachdenken über Israel, Bible und Theologie*. FS K.-D. Schunck (BEATAJ, 37), Frankfurt a.M., 1994, pp. 197-215. Some attention to the relationship between Habakkuk and Isaiah has also been paid by J. G. JANZEN, *Habakkuk 2:2-4 in the Light of Recent Philological Advances*, in HTR 73 (1980) 53-78, esp. pp. 72-78 and by B. PECKHAM, *The Vision of Habakkuk*, in CBQ 48 (1986) 617-636, esp. pp. 629-634.

the relationship of both books from the perspective of the pupil. The book of Habakkuk therefore functions as point of departure.

# 1. THE FIRST COMPLAINT AGAINST INJUSTICE (HABAKKUK 1,2-4)

Habakkuk complains to God about the evil which is happening before his eyes (Hab 1,2-4). How is it possible that God allows this injustice, that He does not hear (ולא תשמע), and that He does not save (ולא תושיע)? Dietrich has put forward that the prophet Isaiah also let his hearers know that God will not hear (Isa 1,15: איני שמע)<sup>4</sup>. The relationship between Hab 1,2 and Isa 1,15 is strengthened, according to Dietrich, by the occurrence of תורה, משפט, and ריב in both Hab 1,2-4 and Isa 1,10-17<sup>5</sup>.

However, when one compares both texts (Hab 1,2-4 and Isa 1,10-17) more closely, one discovers that the similarities between both texts are small. The similarity between Hab 1,2 (“and thou wilt not hear”: ולא תשמע), and Isa 1,15: “I will not hear”: איני שמע) does exist. In both texts the verb שמע is preceded by a negation. However, the intent of the statement is quite different in both texts. Habakkuk asks why God does not save, and why He allows evil, whereas in Isaiah the intent is that God does not hear the prayer as long as the hearers will not give up the social injustice they commit (Isa 1,10-17). In addition, Hab 1,2 has much more in common with other texts in the Old Testament. I only refer to the occurrence of the collocations of the words “to cry” or “to cry for help” (שוע or צועק) and “to hear” with negation (לא שמע) or “to save” with negation (לא ישע)<sup>6</sup>. Also the occurrence of תורה, משפט, and ריב in both Hab 1,2-4 and Isa 1,10-17 is not a compelling argument for the dependency of Hab 1,2-4 on Isa 1,10-17. The words occur in many other places in the Old Testament. Finally, many elements of Isa 1,10-17 are not taken up by Habakkuk, whereas Dietrich does not take in consideration other collocations of words in Habakkuk 1,2-4<sup>7</sup>. This allows only one

4. *Habakuk* (n. 3), p. 198.

5. See Hab 1,3-4; Isa 1,10.16.17.

6. The verb שוע in combination with “not hearing” or “not answering” occurs in Ps 88,14; Job 19,7; 24,12; 30,20; Lam 3,8. The verb צועק in combination with “not hearing” or “not answering” occurs in Lam 3,8; Job 19,7; compare also Pss 77,2.8ff; 88,2; 142,2.6; Job 35,12. The “not hearing” of a complaint belongs to judgements which the prophets announce the disobedient people: 1 Sam 8,18; Jer 11,11-12; Micah 3,4; with other verbs: Jer 7,16; 14,12; cf. also Jer 20,8. The verb צועק occurs in parallelism with the root שוע in Exod 2,23; 1 Sam 5,12; Hab 1,2; Job 19,7; 35,9; Lam 3,8; and with the root ישע in Deut 22,27; 2 Kings 6,27; Hab 1,2; cf. Judg 3,9.15; Isa 19,20; Neh 9,27; Compare *THAT* II, col. 568-575; *TWAT* II, col. 628-639 (esp. 631-633).

7. The collocation of שד and חמס occurs also in Isa 60,18; Jer 6,7; 20,8; Ezek 45,9 and Amos 3,10. The collocation of ריב and מדין occurs also in Jer 15,10; the collocation

conclusion: the similarity between Habakkuk and Isaiah on this point is too small to speak about a verifiable relationship, let alone dependency.

In addition, Dietrich is of the opinion that Hab 1,2-4 functions as a bridge between the early and the later Isaianic tradition<sup>8</sup>. Habakkuk offers Third Isaiah material to formulate his message. Dietrich has three arguments in favour of this opinion. Firstly, the word חַמַּס does not occur in First Isaiah, but it does indeed occur in Third Isaiah (Isa 59,6; 60,18; cf. Isa 53,9). Secondly, the combination of the words זַעַק and שָׁמַע (cf. Hab 1,2) occurs also in Isa 30,19, which is, in the opinion of Dietrich, a late text. The promise of Isa 30,19 is an answer to the complaint of Hab 1,2-4. Finally, according to Dietrich, the collocation of the words עָמַל and אָן occurs outside Hab 1,3 only in Isa 10,1 and Isa 59,4. Having pointed to the similarities between Habakkuk and Third Isaiah, Dietrich exclaims triumphantly: "Habakuk, ein Mitgleid der Jesaja-Schule!".

The arguments which Dietrich puts forward to prove his hypothesis that Habakkuk functions as bridge between First and Third Isaiah are, in my opinion, not strong. The word חַמַּס occurs not only in Hab 1,2-3 and Third Isaiah, but also in many more places in the Old Testament. It descends from a social and legal context. On the one hand it is used in a context of wealth obtained by oppression (Amos 3,10; 6,3; Micah 6,12; Zeph 1,9; Pss 72,14; 73,6; 74,19ff; 140,2.5.12; Prov 3,31; 4,17; 10,6; 16,29), on the other in a context of different forms of violation of justice (Exod 23,1; 19,16; Deut 22,24; Jer 6,7; 20,8; Ezek 7,23; Hab 1,2; Pss 7,17; 25,19; 27,12; 35,11; 55,10; 58,3; Job 19,7)<sup>9</sup>. The word חַמַּס is so often used that the occurrence in Habakkuk and Third Isaiah does not point to a compelling connection between both collections. Furthermore, the combination of the words זַעַק/צַ and שָׁמַע occurs also outside Hab 1,2 and Isa 30,19. The word זַעַק/צַ is used in many cases in the meaning of complaining against God. It concerns a complaint of the people or of an individual, especially a mediator. God hears the complaints for which in many cases the verb שָׁמַע (e.g. Exod 3,7; 22,22.26; Num 20,16; Deut 26,7; Ps 34,18; Neh 9,27.28; 2 Chron 20,9) or עָנָה (1 Sam 7,19; Isa 30,19) is used<sup>10</sup>. Finally, the observation that the collocation of the

of יָצָא and מִשְׁפָּט occurs also in Isa 42,1 (יָצָא *hiph'il*; object); מִשְׁפָּט as subject of יָצָא in Hos 6,5; Pss 17,2; 37,6; מִשְׁפָּט with another verb, but with a comparable meaning in Num 27,5; Isa 51,4; Jer 48,21; 51,9-10; Zeph 3,15; Ps 94,15; Job 27,2; 34,5. Compare also the collocation of the words יָצָא and תּוֹרָה which occurs in Micah 4,2 (= Isa 2,3).

8. *Habakuk* (n. 3), p. 198.

9. Cf. also Isa 59,4; 60,18; Ezek 7,11; 8,17; 12,19; 45,9; Mal 2,16]. See *TWAT* II, col. 1056ff; W.A.M. BEUKEN, *Jesaja II<sup>A</sup>* (POT), Nijkerk, 1989, p. 132. Cf. also DIETRICH, *Habakuk* (n. 3), p. 209, n. 7.

10. See *THAT* II, col. 574.

words עָמַל and אָוֶן occurs outside Hab 1,3 only in Isa 10,1 and Isa 59,4 is inaccurate. Both words occur in one sentence or in parallelism also in Pss 7,15; 10,7; 55,11; 90,10; Job 4,8; 15,35.

## 2. THE ANSWER OF GOD (HAB 1,5-11)

In the book of Habakkuk God answers the complaint of the prophet with the sending of a people from afar, viz. the Chaldeans (Hab 1,6), to punish his own people (Hab 1,5-11)<sup>11</sup>. This answer of God is connected with the first complaint of the prophet through the repetition of some phrases. I point to the “proceeding of justice from themselves” (Hab 1,7; cf. 1,4), to the “coming for violence” (Hab 1,9; cf. 1,2-3). See also the collocation of “to see” and “to look upon” in Hab 1,3.5. Dietrich points to several resemblances between this passage and the book of Isaiah<sup>12</sup>. Firstly, he points to the similarity between Hab 1,5-11 and Isa 10,1-3. Both texts have the same pattern of thought. Those who are responsible for legislation in Judah increase wealth illegally. However, they do not know how to save themselves ultimately: “What will you do on the day of punishment, in the storm which will come from afar?” (Isa 10,3). The reaction of God against the injustice in his own country is the sending of the Assyrians. (cf. Isa 10,5-19). Secondly, Dietrich points to the similarity of the description of the Babylonian army in Habakkuk (Hab 1,7-10) and the description of the Assyrian army in Isaiah (Isa 5,26-29). In both passages, the hostile forces are described as unstoppable and irresistible. Thirdly, the introduction of the oracle (Hab 1,5) is a combination of three allusions to the book of Isaiah (Isa 5,12; 29,9; 7,9). Finally, Dietrich connects Hab 1,11a with Isa 28,15.18 because of the use of עָבַר in both texts, and Hab 1,11b with Isa 10,10-11 because of the use of כָּח in both texts. I will discuss these proposals one by one.

First, the similarity between Hab 1,5-11 and Isa 10,1-3 as far as the theme is concerned is evident. God reacts against injustice in the land with the sending of a foreign nation from afar. In the book of Isaiah it is connected with an oracle of judgement (Isa 5,25-30; 10,3) which follows an utterance of woe (Isa 10,1-2); in the book of Habakkuk the oracle of judgement follows a complaint of the prophet. Although the thematic similarity between both books is clear, it does not seem to be a *unique* similarity. It occurs also elsewhere, see e.g. Amos 6,14; Isa 5,25-30; Jer 5,15; Jer

11. For this and other interpretations of the answer of God, see: JÖCKEN, *Das Buch Habakuk* (n. 2).

12. *Habakuk* (n. 3), pp. 198-201.

1,14.15; 4,6; 6,1.22; 10,22; 13,20; 25,9 etc. Besides, the description of injustice in both passages (Hab 1,2-4; Isa 10,1-2) is quite different. Finally, the similarity between Isa 10,3 and Hab 1,5-11 as far as the lexemes are concerned is restricted to the collocation of the words **בוא מרחוק** en **בוא**. The grammatical-syntactical connection between these words is different (Isa 10,3 “the storm which *will come from afar*”; Hab 1,8, “their horsemen *come from afar*”), while the collocation occurs in many other places in the Old Testament (see below). The conclusion is that it is improbable that Isa 10,3 functions as the specific background of Hab 1,5-11.

Second, there seem to be more agreements between Hab 1,5-11 and Isa 5,25-30, than between Habakkuk and Isa 10,1-3. God reacts against injustice in the land with the sending of a foreign nation from afar. In Isa 5,26-29 it is connected with an oracle of judgement which follows a series of utterances of woe (Isa 5,8-24). Especially, the verbal similarities between Isa 5,26.28 and Hab 1,6.8 are striking. We point to the words **גוי**; **מרחוק**; **קל**; **מהרה**; **בוא** which occur in both texts:

#### Isa 5,26

He will raise a signal for a **nation** (**לגויים**) afar off (**מרחוק**),  
and whistle for it from the ends of the earth;  
and lo, **HASTILY** (**מהרה**), *swiftly* (**קל**) it comes (**יבוא**)!

....

28... their horses' hoofs seem like flint...

#### Hab 1,6.8

6 For lo, I am rousing the Chaldeans,  
that bitter and **HASTY nation** (... **הגוי**  
**והנמהר**),  
who march through the breadth of the earth,  
to seize habitations not their own....

8 Their horses are *swifter* (**ויקלו**) than leopards...

their horsemen come from afar (**יבאו**)  
(**מרחוק**)

Although there are several similarities between both texts, there are also many differences. I point to the formulation of the activity of God (in Isaiah: “He will raise a signal” and “He will whistle”; in Habakkuk: “I am rousing”), to the mentioning of negative characteristics of the foreign nation, like “bitter” (Hab 1,6), their gluttonous character (Hab 1,6-7.9-10), and the implicit judgement on the Chaldeans (Hab 1,6-7.11). The description of the Assyrian army in Isa 5,26-29 does not focus on this gluttonous character at all, it describes the strength of the army in rather a positive way. Besides, the similarities between both texts are not unique in the Old Testament. As mentioned before, the reaction of God against injustice in the land with the sending of a foreign nation from afar occurs in many other texts in the Old Testament. The collocation of the words **בוא** and **רחק** occurs also in Deut 28,49; 29,21; Josh 9,6.9; 1 Kings 8,41; 2 Kings 20,14 (= Isa 39,3); Isa 5,26; 10,3;

30,27; 43,6 (*hiph'il*); 46,11; 49,12; 60,4.9 (*hiph'il*); Jer 4,16; 5,15; Zech 6,15; 2 Chron 6,32<sup>13</sup>. The prophetic announcement of judgement foretells on the one hand a catastrophe coming from afar (Deut 28,49; Isa 5,26; 10,3; Jer 4,16; 5,15; Hab 1,8; cf. Isa 30,27), on the other hand the removing of Israel far away (Isa 6,12; Jer 8,19; 27,10; Joel 4,6; cf. Ez 11,16). In the oracles against the foreign nations this foretelling is a judgement on the enemies (Isa 13,5; Joel 2,20). The oracles of salvation speak on the one hand of the fact that Israel is brought from a far country (Isa 46,11), on the other hand it is YHWH who carries back his people from a far country (Isa 43,6 [*בוא* *hiph'il*]; 49,12; 60,4.9 [*hiph'il*]; Jer 30,10; 46,27). Furthermore, the salvation is brought to countries far away (Jer 31,10; cf. Isa 49,1; 66,19)<sup>14</sup>.

Third, according to Dietrich the introduction of the oracle (Hab 1,5) is a combination of three allusions to the book of Isaiah (Isa 5,12; 29,9; 7,9). As far as the first allusion is concerned, one can point to the phrases "Look upon (*ראו*) the nations and see (*והביטו*) ... For I am doing a work (*פעל פעל*) in your days" (Hab 1,5) which have some similarities with Isa 5,12 ("But they do not regard (*לא יביטו*) the deeds (*פעל*) of the Lord, or see (*לא ראו*) the work of his hands"). Although it is not impossible that the order to look upon the nations and to see what YHWH is doing refers to the despair of Isaiah that the people are not regarding the work of YHWH<sup>15</sup>, it must be said that the collocation of the words *ראה* and *נבט* occurs quite often in the Old Testament<sup>16</sup>. The combination of *ראה* or *נבט* with the mentioning of a work of God also occurs more often in the Old Testament<sup>17</sup>. Finally, the root *תמה* occurs in most cases with a visual observation<sup>18</sup>.

The second allusion in Hab 1,5 to the book of Isaiah concerns the phrase "Wonder and be astounded" (*והתמהו תמהו*). The imperatives in Hab 1,5 are both from the root *תמה*, "be astounded". The root occurs only in a few places in the Old Testament (Gen 43,33; Deut 28,28; Isa 13,8; 29,9; Jer 4,9; Hab 1,5; Zech 12,4; Ps 48,6; Job 26,11; Qoh 5,7). In most cases it concerns the human reaction to a visual observation of

13. For the collocation of *גוי* and *רחוק* see Deut 28,49; Isa 5,26; 66,19; Joel 4,8; Micah 4,3.

14. Cf. *THAT* II, col. 769-771; *TWAT* VII, col. 490-496.

15. Cf. PECKHAM, *The Vision* (n. 3), p. 630.

16. *TWAT* V, col. 137-140, esp. col. 137); *TWAT* VII, col. 225-266, esp. col. 231.

17. The collocation of *ראה* and *פעל* (Hab 1,5; Pss 90,16; 95,9), and of *ראה* and *מעשה* (Ex 34,10; Deut 3,24; 11,7; Judg 2,7; Isa 29,23; Pss 8,4; 107,24; Qoh 7,13) referring to a work of YHWH also occurs elsewhere in the Old Testament. The collocation of *נבט* with *פעל* or *מעשה* does not occur outside Isa 5,12 (with *מעשה*) and Hab 1,5 (*פעל*).

18. See Gen 43,33; Deut 28,28; Isa 13,8; 29,9; Hab 1,5; Zech 12,4; Ps 48,6; Qoh 5,7.

something that has been caused by God. Only in the case of Hab 1,5 is the root repeated. According to Dietrich the repetition of this root occurs also in Isa 29,9 (“Stupefy yourselves and be in a stupor”: **התמהמהו** ו**תמהו**). However, it must be said that in MT Isa 29,9 it is not the case of a repetition of one and the same root. The first imperative **התמהמהו** is from the root **מהה** “to linger, to tarry” (*hithpalpel*), whereas the second imperative **ותמהו** is derived from the root **תמה**, “be astounded” (*qal*). If the first imperative was derived from the root **תמה**, then the form should have been **והתמהו**. The editor of BHS in fact does recommend changing the form of MT with reference to Hab 1,5. However, the ancient versions (LXX, Vg, Targ, Syr) presuppose two different roots for the two imperatives in Isa 29,9. Moreover, from a text-critical point of view there is no reason to change the MT. In fact MT Isa 29,9 does not contain an inaccurate tradition, but a word-play: two different roots provide two verbal forms which are very close to each other. Of course, there is affinity of sound between Hab 1,5 and Isa 29,9, but I think the repetition in Hab 1,5 is due much more to the stylistic peculiarities of the book of Habakkuk than to the influence of Isa 29,9<sup>19</sup>. Nor does the context of Isa 29,9 give us arguments to suppose that Hab 1,5 refers to that text.

The third allusion concerns the phrase “that you would not believe if told” (**לא תאמינו כי יספר**) which is supposed to refer to Isa 7,9 (“If you will not believe, surely you shall not be established”: **אם לא תאמינו כי לא תאמנו**). The similarity between both texts concerns the verb **אמן** (in both texts: *hiph'il* 2nd pl masc) with negation. However, the verb **אמן** is used often with a negation<sup>20</sup>. If Habakkuk here referred to Isa 7,9 it would have been curious that he does not take over the repetition of the verb **אמן**, although it would fit very well in the stylistic peculiarities of Habakkuk.

Finally, Dietrich connects Hab 1,11a with Isa 28,15.18 because of the use of **עבר** in both texts, and Hab 1,11b with Isa 10,10-13 because of the use of **כה** in both texts. It must be said that in both cases the similarities between Isaiah and Habakkuk are very small. The verb **עבר** occurs 548 times in the Old Testament with different connotations. The collocation of **עבר** and **חלף** occurs only in Isa 8,8 and Hab 1,11, but Dietrich does not refer to this Isaianic text. The verbal agreement between Hab 1,11b

19. I refer here to the repetition of words in Hab 1,4 (**משפט + יצא**), 5 (**פעל**), 6 (**לא לו**), 8 (**פרשיו**) and 9 (**בצע**).

20. See: Gen 45,26; Exod 4,1.8.9; Num 14,11; 20,12; Deut 9,23; 28,66; Judg 11,20; 1 Kings 10,7; 2 Kings 17,14; Isa 7,9; Jer 12,6; 40,14; Micah 7,5; Hab 1,5; Pss 78,8.22.32.37; 106,24; Job 4,18; 9,16; 15,15.22.31; 24,22; 29,24; 39,24; Prov 26,25; Lam 4,12; 2 Chron 9,6; 32,15. Often it concerns the human reaction of something that has been caused by God.



and Isa 10,10-13 consists only in the word כֹּחַ. This word occurs 124 times in the Old Testament. It must be admitted that in both cases it is part of a warning against trusting in their own strength. But this idea also occurs more often in the Old Testament. Neither a big army nor great strength could help men, if God will not help him (Deut 8,17; 1 Sam 2,9; Zech 4,6; Ps 33,16; Dan 8,22.24).

### 3. THE SECOND COMPLAINT (HAB 1,12-17)

After the first complaint of the prophet (Hab 1,2-4) and the first answer of God (Hab 1,5-11) the prophet complains again (Hab 1,12-17). The Babylonians who are brought by God as an answer to the first complaint are frightening. The remedy is worse than the disease<sup>21</sup>. Dietrich points to the influence of several Isaianic texts on Hab 1,12-17<sup>22</sup>. As far as Hab 1,12-13 is concerned he points to the word-pair מִשְׁפָּט and יִכָּח (Hab 1,12b), which occurs twice in Isa 11,3-4, to the collocation of שִׁים and מִשְׁפָּט (Hab 1,12b), which occurs also in Isa 28,17 ("I will make justice the line"), and to the words צוּר and יִסֵּד, which in the opinion of Dietrich alludes to Isa 28,16, because of the use of יִסֵּד in combination with אֶבֶן. As far as Hab 1,14 is concerned, Dietrich points to the occurrence of מַשַּׁל (Hab 2,14), which is used in Isaiah to characterize the political leaders in Jerusalem. I will go into these proposals one by one.

Firstly, the word-pair מִשְׁפָּט and יִכָּח occurs outside Hab 1,12b and Isa 11,3-4 also in Isa 2,4 (= Micah 4,3); Ezek 5,15; Job 22,4; 23,4. Besides, the word יִכָּח occurs often with expressions which are connected with מִשְׁפָּט, e.g. יִכָּח with רִיב in Hos 4,4; Micah 6,2; Job 13,6; 40,2. Secondly, as far as the collocation of שִׁים and מִשְׁפָּט is concerned it must be said that the construction and meaning Hab 1,12b is different from Isa 28,17. The specific construction of שִׁים ל in Hab 1,12b occurs in a more

21. The passage Hab 1,12-17 can be divided into two parts: v. 12-14 and v. 15-17. In the first part, v. 12-14, the speaker addresses himself to YHWH (2nd pl masc). The use of the direct address does not occur in v. 15-17, whereas the 1st sg is used only in Hab 2,12. In the second part, v. 15-17, the use of 3rd sg masc prevails, it describes the ungodly of Hab 2,13. The separation of the two parts is not absolute, while in v. 13-14 the theme of the fish is already mentioned (v. 14: "the fish of the sea"; "the crawling things"); moreover the use of the verb בָּלַע, "to swallow", in v. 13 can be used in connection with fishing (e.g. Jona 1,3; Jer 51,34). Some exegetes point to the genesis of Hab 1,12-17. The first verses (Hab 1,12-13), which have many words in common with Hab 1,2-4, are concerned with a new complaint against the internal political leaders, whereas Hab 1,14-17 betrays an exilic redaction which condemns the Babylonians, which had been called to summon Judah. See JEREMIAS, *Kultprophetie* (n. 2), pp. 78-81; E. OTTO, *Die Theologie des Buches Habakuk*, in VT 35 (1985) 274-295, esp. p. 280.

22. *Habakuk* (n. 3), pp. 201-202, 204-205.

or less comparable meaning in Gen 45,8.9; Judg 1,28; 8,33; 11,11; 1 Kings 10,9; Ezek 14,8; Ps 18,44; 1 Chron 26,10. Closest to Hab 1,12 seems the construction in 1 Kings 10,9<sup>23</sup>. In this text the king is ordained to execute justice and righteousness. As far as the words צור and יסד are concerned it should be mentioned that in Hab 1,12 צור is used as epithet of YHWH. This occurs quite often in the Old Testament<sup>24</sup>. In Isa 28,16 the parallel word אבן is used, but in that phrase אבן is not used as epithet of God. In my opinion both passages do not have enough elements in common to speak about the influence of Isaiah on Habakkuk at this point. Thirdly, Dietrich connects Hab 1,14 with Isaiah because of the use of מַשַּׁל, which is used in Isaiah to characterize the political leaders in Jerusalem (Isa 3,4; 28,14; cf. 39,2; 40,10; 51,5). However, the root מַשַּׁל is used 102 times in the Old Testament<sup>25</sup>. It can mean “dominate” in a non-political sense<sup>26</sup>, and in a political sense<sup>27</sup>. Besides, also YHWH occurs as subject of מַשַּׁל<sup>28</sup>. The construction in Hab 1,14 is close to Prov 6,7 where is said of an ant that it has no chief, officer or ruler (מַשַּׁל). More probable is that Hab 1,14 contains an ironical allusion to Gen 1,26.

#### 4. THE SECOND ANSWER OF GOD (HAB 2,1-5)

In Hab 2,1-5 YHWH gives his second and decisive answer. Hab 2,1-3 first deals with some preliminary matters. The prophet is ordered to write the vision upon tablets (v. 2), because the fulfillment of the vision is a long time coming (v. 3), whereas Hab 2,4-5 contains the actual answer of God<sup>29</sup>. It might be that also Hab 2,6-20 are part of the answer of

23. Cf. HUMBERT, *Problèmes* (n. 2), pp. 121-122.

24. Deut 32,4.15.18.30.31-37; 1 Sam 2,2; 2 Sam 22,3.32.47; 23,3; Isa 17,10; 26,4; 30,29; 44,8; Hab 1,12; Ps 18,3.32.47; 19,15; 28,1; 31,1; 62,3.7.8; 71,3; 73,26; 78,35; 89,27; 92,16; 94,22; 95,1; 144,1. Cf. HUMBERT, *Problèmes* (n. 2), pp. 122-123.

25. See THAT I, col. 930-933; TWAT V, col. 73-77.

26. In these cases מַשַּׁל is mostly constructed with ב: Gen 3,16; 37,8; Ex 21,8; Deut 15,6; Jo 2,17; Ps 8,7; 19,14; 105,21; 106,41; Prov 12,24; 16,32; 17,2; 19,10; 22,7; Lam 5,8.

27. Gen 45,8.26; Josh 12,2.5; Judges 8,22-23; 9,2; 14,4; 15,11; 2 Sam 23,3; 1 Kings 5,1; Isa 3,4.12; 14,5; 16,1; 19,4; 49,7; Jer 22,30; 30,21; 51,46; Ezek 19,11; Zech 6,13; Job 25,2; Prov 23,1; 29,2.12.26; Qoh 9,17; 10,4; Dan 11,3-5.39.43; Neh 9,27; 2 Chron 7,18; 9,26; 23,20.

28. Isa 40,10; 63,19; Ps 22,29; 59,14; 66,7; 89,10; 103,19; 1 Chron 29,12; 2 Chron 20,6; cf. Micah 5,1.

29. See, e.g., E. SELLIN, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, Leipzig, 1922, pp. 349-351; F. HORST, *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten* (HAT, 14), Tübingen, 1954, pp. 178-180; W. RUDOLPH, *Micha – Nahum – Habakuk – Zephania* (KAT, XIII-3), Gütersloh, 1975, p. 216. According to others the answer is restricted to v. 4: see, e.g., A. VAN HOONACKER, *Les Douze Petits Prophètes*, Paris, 1908, pp. 477-478; D. DEDEN, *De kleine Profeten*

God, but through their form they should be separated from Hab 2,4-5, and they can be considered as a commentary on the revelation.

Dietrich points to the similarity between Hab 2,2-3 and three passages of Isaiah: 8,1-4; 8,16-17; 30,8-11. He stresses that the similarity does not concern especially one of these passages. Habakkuk refers to all three passages. The verbal similarities, however, between the text of Habakkuk and the texts of Isaiah are little. They are limited to כתב (Isa 8,1), חכה (Isa 8,17) and כתב על לוח (Isa 30,8). Moreover, these words occur in many other passages of the Old Testament.

### 5. THE WOE-ORACLES (HAB 2,6-20)

The five woe-oracles (Hab 2,6b-8.9-11.12-14.15-17.18-19) can be seen as the commentary on the revelation of God which the prophet receives (Hab 2,4-5). The revelation itself is the answer to the second complaint of the prophet (Hab 1,12-17). The woe-utterances are put in the mouth of the people conquered by Babylon (Hab 2,6a). They describe the criminal (cf. Hab 1,4b.13b; 2,4-5) in the light of the injustice he commits.

This reversal of hope from the coming of a superpower as punishment for the excessive wealth of the leaders in Jerusalem to its sentence is an important thematic similarity between the books of Habakkuk and Isaiah<sup>30</sup>. I refer to Isa 10,5-19 and to the oracles against the nations (Isa 13-23; 30; 34). However, this theme is not unique to Isaiah and Habakkuk, but it occurs also in other prophetic books of the Old Testament, e.g. Jer 46-51; Ezek 25-35; Nahum 1-3.

As far as the form is concerned, the series of woe-oracles consists of five strophes which are built up in a similar way. Each strophe consists of three or four lines, to which the first and fourth woe-oracle add an identical refrain (v. 8cd; 17cd)<sup>31</sup>. Each strophe begins with הוי, followed by a colon in which the verb has the form of a participle and which introduces the description of the addressee. The next colon which is parallel to this colon has in most cases also a verb in the form of a participle<sup>32</sup>. The strophe always ends with a line introduced by כי<sup>33</sup>. The

(BOT), Roermond, 1953, p. 263; A.S. VAN DER WOUDE, *Habakuk. Zefanja* (POT), Nijkerk, 1978, pp. 31-32, 36-38.

30. Cf. also DIETRICH, *Habakuk* (n. 3), p. 204.

31. JEREMIAS, *Kultprophetie* (n. 2), pp. 61-62; W. JANZEN, *Mourning Cry and Woe Oracle* (BZAW, 125), Berlin, 1972, p. 65; J. VERMEYLEN, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique. Isaïe I-XXXV miroir d'un demi-millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël II*, Paris, 1978, p. 643.

32. In Hab 2,12 the participle is continued by a *perfectum consecutivum* (cf. GK §112n; P. JOÜON, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, Rome, 1947, §119r) and in Hab 2,15 by an *infinitivus absolutus* (cf. GK §113hz).

middle lines are alternately varied. In the first and third woe-oracle the middle line is a tricolon introduced by וְלִיָּא. In the second and fourth oracle the middle line is introduced by לְ, which indicates the purpose of the deeds of the addressee. As far as the genre is concerned, the use of an accusation and an oracle of judgement belongs to the core of the woe-oracles. The characteristic features of this are the omission of a messenger-formula and the omission of a clear (formal) mark to indicate the transition of accusation to judgement.

In the final form the woe-oracles are directed to Babylon. According to Jeremias and Otto the text is the product of a redaction history. At first the prophet directed the woe-oracles to the leaders in Judah<sup>34</sup>. After the destruction of Jerusalem the exilic redaction of the text re-interpreted the words of the prophet and directed them to Babylon. Dietrich accepts the stratification of the woe-oracles. In his attempt to demonstrate the influence of Isaiah on Habakkuk he first deals with the original form of the woe-oracles. He points to the similarity between the original form with the woe-oracles in Isa 5,8-24. They both aim at the social abuse in Judah. The woe-oracles of Isaiah once functioned as model for Habakkuk. Then, Dietrich points to the similarities of the individual woe-oracles with Isaianic texts, from which he deduces the influence of Isaiah on Habakkuk. With regard to Hab 2,6b-7 he points to *hiph'il*-form of the root כָּבַד which occurs regularly in the book of Isaiah to characterize the influential people in the country (e.g. Isa 5,13; 22,18; cf. 10,3), and with regard to Hab 2,9.11 to the use of מָרוֹם in Isa 22,16. In addition, he observes a relationship between Hab 2,12 and Isa 1,21.26 on the basis of the use of פָּרִיָּה and עִיר. Finally, Hab 2,15-16 uses the words שָׁתָה and שָׁכַר of Isa 5,11.22, and interprets them in a symbolic way. As far as the exilic re-interpretation is concerned Dietrich refers to the use of שָׁלַל in Isa 10,6-7 (cf. Isa 8,4) which influenced Hab 2,8, and to the many similarities between Hab 2,13 and Second Isaiah on the basis of the use of the terms יַעַף and יָנַע. From this he deduces an Isaianic redaction of the woe-oracles of Habakkuk<sup>35</sup>. He is confirmed in his view by the fact that also Hab 2,18-19 betrays many similarities with Second Isaiah. Finally, he points to the influence of Isa 11,9 and Isa 6,3 in Hab 2,14.

33. This means that as far as the fifth woe-oracle is concerned Hab 2,19 was originally put before Hab 2,18: cf. JEREMIAS, *Kultprophetie* (n. 2), p. 64.

34. According to Jeremias the following verses are originally directed to the internal leaders of Judah: Hab 2,6b-7.9 and 11.12.15-16.19. He makes the assumption that the prophet made use of texts of the wisdom literature. Cf. *Kultprophetie* (n. 2), pp. 57-75. According to Otto the original text is made up of the following verses: Hab 2,6b-7.9-10.12-11.15-16. Cf. *Die Stellung der Wehe-Worte* (n. 2).

35. DIETRICH, *Habakuk* (n. 3), p. 207: "Wir sind bisher mit der Annahme einer einzigen, exilischen Bearbeitungsschicht ausgekommen, die wie schon Habakuk, der Jesajaschule nahesteht, allerdings viel näher dem Zweiten als dem Ersten Jesaja".

It is striking that Dietrich in many cases accepts the agreement of just one word to prove the influence of Isaiah on Habakkuk, whereas these words occur also quite often in other places in the Old Testament. Firstly, the *hiph'il*-form of the root כבד (Hab 2,6b-7) occurs 17 times<sup>36</sup>. The use of כבד (*hiph'il*) with על in 1 Kings 12,10.14; Isa 47,6; 2 Chron 10,10.14 is closer to Hab 2,6b than the use of כבד (*hiph'il*) in Isa 5,13 and 22,18. Secondly, the word מרום not only occurs in Hab 2,9 and in Isa 22,16, but also in 51 other places in the Old Testament. The frequent use of this term in poetic and prophetic literature makes the dependency of Hab 2,9 on Isa 22,16, as Dietrich suggests, not convincing. Thirdly, with regard to the collocation of the words פריה and עיר we can point not only to Hab 2,12 and Isa 1,26, but also to Num 21,28 (?); Deut 2,36; 3,4; Isa 22,2; 25,2; 32,13-14; Jer 44,25. The phrases in Hab 2,12 are much closer to Micah 3,10, Jer 22,13 and Prov 24,13. Fourthly, the word שתה occurs in 39 passages (19 times as verb, 20 times as noun), whereas the word שכר occurs in 211 passages. The words occur as collocation outside Isa 5,11.22 and Hab 2,16 in other places in the Old Testament (e.g. 2 Sam 11,13; Jer 51,7.39; Cant 5,1). Fifth, as far as the exilic re-interpretation is concerned the verb שלל is used in 16 passages in the Old Testament, the noun even 72 times. The frequent use of the terms יעף and יגע in Second and Third Isaiah is striking indeed, but the words are used also elsewhere in the Old Testament<sup>37</sup>. The two words are linked together outside Hab 2,13, also in Isa 40,28.30.31; Jer 51,58. The text of Hab 2,13 is nearly identical with Jer 51,58.

## 6. HABAKKUK 2,14 AND ISAIAH 11,9

At the end of this contribution I would like to explore the supposed influence of Isa 11,9 on Hab 2,14 a little further<sup>38</sup>. The similarities between Hab 2,14 and Isa 11,9 are evident as can be seen in the following scheme<sup>39</sup>:

36. Only once with the object עבטִיט (Hab 2,6b).

37. The word יעף occurs in Josh 24,13; 2 Sam 23,10; Isa 40,28.30.31; 43,22; 47,12.15; 49,4; 57,10; 62,8; 65,23; Jer 45,3; 51,58; Hab 2,13; Pss 6,7; 69,4; Prov 23,4; Job 9,29; Lam 5,5; the verb יגע (qal) occurs in Judg 4,21; 1 Sam 14,28.31; 2 Sam 21,15; Isa 40,28.30.31; 44,12; Jer 2,24; 51,58.64; Hab 2,13.

38. DIETRICH, *Habakkuk* (n. 3), p. 207.

39. On the one hand many commentators on the book of Habakkuk have pointed to the similarity between Hab 2,14 and Isa 11,9, and most commentators have concluded that Hab 2,14 is a gloss taken from Isa 11,9. See: K. MARTI, *Dodekapropheton* (KHAT, 13), Tübingen, 1904, p. 345; W. NOWACK, *Die kleinen Propheten* (HAT, III/4), Göttingen, <sup>2</sup>1903, p. 286; SELLIN, *Zwölfprophetenbuch* (n. 29), pp. 354-355; HUMBERT, *Problèmes* (n. 2), p. 53; HORST, *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten* (n. 29), p. 178; K. ELLIGER,

*Isaiah 11,9*

- 9a לא ירעו ולא ישחיתו  
 b בכל הר קדשי  
 c כי מלאה הארץ  
 d דעה את יהוה  
 e כמים לים מכסים

- 9a They shall not hurt or destroy  
 b in all my holy mountain;  
 c for the earth shall be full  
 d of the knowledge of YHWH  
 e as the waters cover (the bottom  
 of) the sea

*Habakkuk 2,14*

- 14a כי תמלא הארץ  
 b לדעת את כבוד יהוה  
 c כמים יכסו על ים

- 14a For the earth shall be full  
 b with the knowledge of the glory  
 of YHWH,  
 c as the waters cover (the bottom  
 of) the sea.

The similarities between Hab 2,14a-c and Isa 11,9c-e are obvious. Both texts have nine words and roots in common (כי; מלא; הארץ; ידע; את; יהוה; כמים; כסה; ים)<sup>40</sup>. Only a few words occur only in one text and not in the other. I refer to כבוד (Hab 2,14b), to ל (Isa 11,9e), and to על (Hab 2,14c). Moreover, the comparison of the fullness of the earth with the knowledge of (the glory of) YHWH with the covering over the sea with the waters occurs only in Isa 11,9 and Hab 2,14. Although the collocations of מלא and הארץ, and of ידע and יהוה occur in many other places in the Old Testament, the phrase that “the earth shall be full with the knowledge of YHWH” occurs only in Isa 11,9 and Hab 2,14. The collocations of מים and כסה<sup>41</sup>, and of ים and כסה<sup>42</sup> occur also elsewhere in the Old Testament. However, the collocation of מים; כסה and ים occurs only in Isa 11,9 and Hab 2,14 in one sentence.

Although the similarities between both texts are obvious, there are many differences as far as grammar and syntax are concerned. I point to the form of the root מלא (מלאה in Isa 11,9c and תמלא in Hab 2,14a), to the form of ידע (דעה in Isa 11,9d and דעת plus ל in Hab 2,14b), to the form of כסה (מכסים in Isa 11,9e and יכסו in Hab 2,14c), to the preposition before ים (ל in Isa 11,9e and על in Hab 2,14c), and to the sequence of the words כסה and ים. Despite the overwhelming agreements between

*Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten* (ATD, 25), Göttingen, 1950, pp. 46-47; JEREMIAS, *Kultprophetie* (n. 2), p. 63. On the other hand, many commentators on the book of Isaiah consider Isa 11,9 as a later addition, taken from Hab 2,14. See: K. MARTI, *Das Buch Jesaja*, Tübingen, 1900, pp. 112-113; DUHM, *Jesaja* (n. 1); VERMEYLEN, *Du prophète Isaïe I* (n. 31), pp. 275-279; KAISER, *Jesaja* (n. 1), pp. 239-248.

40. When one also includes כ and ה as independent words, then both texts even have eleven words in common.

41. See Ezek 26,19; Job 22,11; 38,34; cf. also Gen 7,19.20; 8,2; Exod 14,28; Jer 46,8; Ps 104,6.

42. Exod 15,10; Josh 24,7; Ps 78,53; Job 36,30; cf. also Exod 14,28; Jer 51,42.

both texts, the differences between them make it unlikely that one text is directly dependent on the other. Perhaps it is safer to say that both texts are dependent on another (unknown) text or tradition.

The knowledge of YHWH implies a religious-ethical situation. Those who know his name, who adhere to YHWH, will be saved by YHWH. Only those who give up idolatry and iniquity are able to know YHWH. Those who do not know YHWH are sinning against him. They are forgetting him and they are unfaithful. God desires “steadfast love and not sacrifice, *the knowledge of God*, rather than burnt offerings” (Hos 6,6). Therefore “my people go into exile for *want of knowledge*” (Isa 5,13). According to Hos 4,1-2 the lack of the knowledge of God means “swearing, lying, killing, stealing, and committing adultery; they break all bounds and murder follows murder”. In the time of salvation YHWH will give his people righteousness, justice, love, faithfulness, and *knowledge of YHWH* (cf. Hos 2,21). Everybody will participate in the knowledge, because “the earth shall be full of the knowledge of YHWH” (Isa 11,9). This knowledge is the condition for the righteous rule (Isa 11,3-5) and the harmony in the animal world (Isa 11,6-9). Also the messiah is equipped with the spirit of knowledge (Isa 11,2)<sup>43</sup>.

In Hab 2,14 the notion of the knowledge of YHWH that shall fill the earth (Isa 11,9) is combined with the knowledge of YHWH's *glory* (כבוד) that will fill the earth. Most often the glory of YHWH fills the tabernacle or the temple<sup>44</sup>. The texts which speak of the presence of YHWH outside the temple speak most often of *something of YHWH* that fills the land or the earth, e.g., the knowledge, the praise, the faithfulness<sup>45</sup>. The eschatological perspective of Hab 2,14 shows that injustice and exploitation will no longer exist, but that the earth will be filled with *the knowledge of the glory* of YHWH. The glory of YHWH fills the earth as universal salvation, as can be seen also in Num 14,21 (cf. Isa 6,3). Behind it functions the concept of the submission of all people to the dominion of God, witness the prophecy of the day of YHWH in Isaiah 2, in which all people submit themselves to YHWH as far as it follows his glory and his majesty<sup>46</sup>. I think it is possible that texts about the future salvation of the people in Zion and especially about the future salvation of all the people who will go to Jerusalem function as background for the formulation in Isa 11,9 and Hab 2,14<sup>47</sup>.

43. TWAT III, col. 479-512.

44. See, e.g., Exod 40,34,35; 1 Kings 8,11; Ezek 10,4; 43,5; 44,4; Hag 2,7; 2 Chron 5,14; 7,1,2.

45. TWAT IV, col. 876-886, esp. col. 878-879.

46. TWAT IV, col. 23-40, esp. col. 36-38.

47. See e.g. Isa 40,5; 60,1-3; 66,18. Cf. JEREMIAS, *Kultprophetie* (n. 2), p. 63; TWAT IV, col. 36-37.

## 7. CONCLUSION

It was the purpose of this contribution to consider some of the similarities between the books of Isaiah and Habakkuk with regard to theme and vocabulary, especially those which have been put forward by Dietrich. The conclusion is that it is very difficult to confirm the view that Habakkuk is dependent on Isaiah. One can point to some general parallels between both collections, e.g. Gods reaction against injustice in the land with the sending of a foreign nation from afar, and the punishment of the foreign nation at a later moment. However, these agreements are too general and too little specific. The common use of words is in most cases too small to conclude the dependency. Whether Habakkuk was a pupil, or not, his use of words is in many cases quite different. To answer the question in the title of this contribution: Habakkuk does not speak in "his master's voice"!

In my opinion Dietrich has used a methodology which is too general and too informal. It is insufficient to point to one or two similar words, and hence to conclude the dependency of one text on the other. If there is no explicit indicator that points from one text to another, I think a text should have at least two words in common with another text. These collocations of two or more words should be connected in a comparable syntactical way. Moreover, I think that this collocation of words should point to a unique agreement between two texts. Finally, common themes and the literary context help to the settlement of the dependency of one text of another. The examples of dependency of Habakkuk on Isaiah could not meet these conditions.

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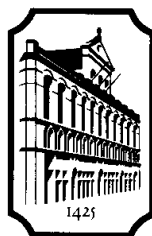
CXXXII

# STUDIES IN THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

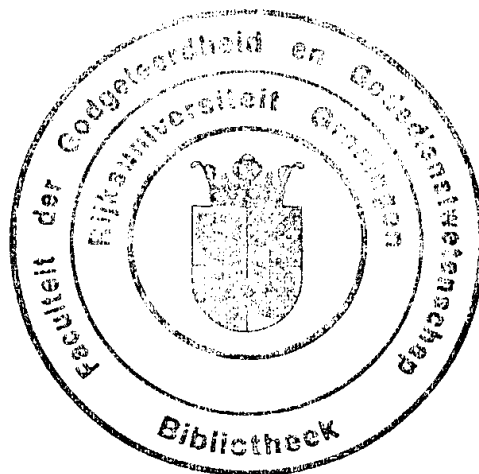
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